

2010

A prayer for strength

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This article was originally published as:

O'Brien, O. P. (2010). A prayer for strength. *New Norcia Studies*, 18, 78-87.

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A Prayer for Strength¹

Odhran O'Brien, BA & MA candidate.



The themes used in this article were presented at the Australian Historical Association Biannual Conference, 'Reviewing History', July 5 - 8, 2010 at The University of Western Australia & the University of Notre Dame Australia in the paper 'Martin Griver – Unearthed'.

The relationship between Bishops Rosendo Salvado and Martin Griver and their leadership of the Catholic Church in Western Australia played an important role in both the foundation and the expansion of the Catholic Mission during the colonial period. Despite its significance the relationship between these two men has received less attention than the interplay between other bishops of this period. The turbulent struggle between Perth's Bishops John Brady and José Maria Benito Serra, for example, has seen far more scholarly and popular attention due to its theatrical nature. Salvado and Griver have been explored separately as biographical subjects, but not together as a case study for the success of the colonial Catholic Church during the second half of the 19th Century. The relationship between the two was complex. Sometimes they bitterly

disagreed with the decisions of the other. However, in contrast to Brady and Serra, their disputes did not reach the dizzying dramatic heights of civil court cases and struggles at the altar. Throughout this article some of key issues that arose between Salvado and Griver will be discussed in order to demonstrate that while they disagreed with each other's leadership, at times when necessary, they joined forces to work toward the development of the young Catholic Church in the Colony of Western Australia. Further, their strong friendship helped sustain their ability to work together, particularly through difficult periods of transition brought about by major bureaucratic changes imposed on them by the Vatican in Rome. Throughout this and other occasions when embroiled in a dispute with each other, Salvado and Griver would often end their letters asking the other for a prayer, a prayer for many things, but mostly for strength. It was this enduring friendship which allowed them to co-operate, bringing stability to the missionary Church of Western Australia, which it had lacked prior to their appointment as leaders.

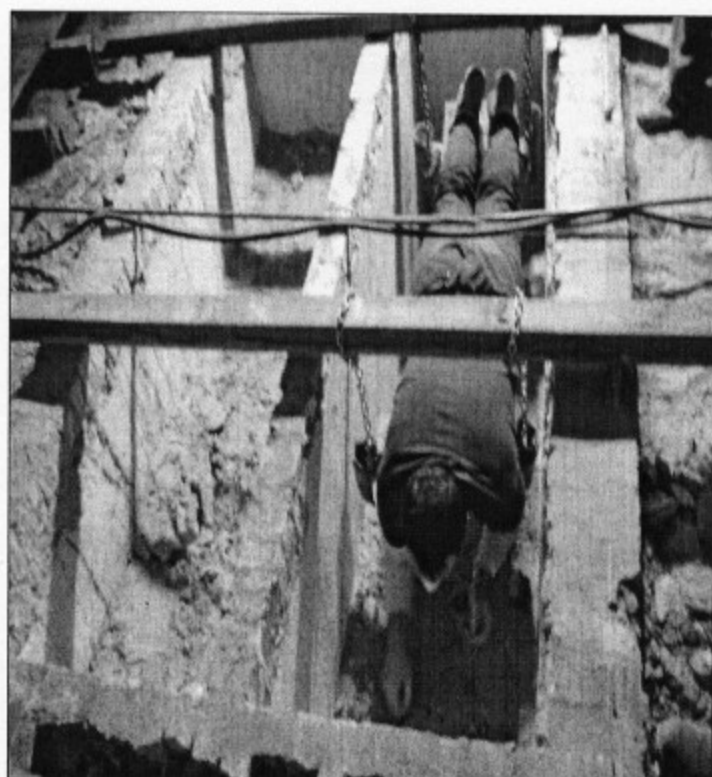


Figure 3. The author exhuming Bishop Griver.

(Courtesy: Fr Robert Cross.)

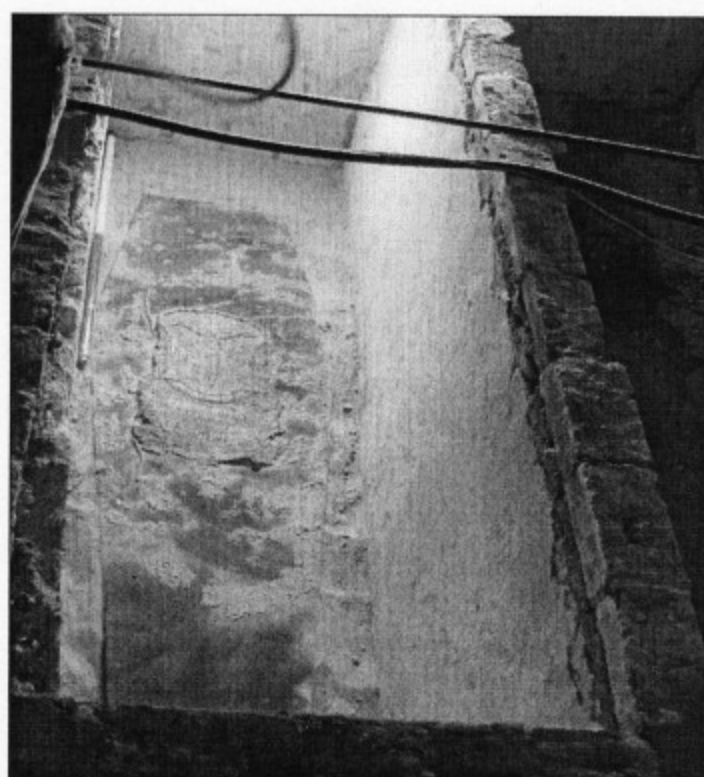


Figure 4. Bishop Griver's coffin.

The origins of my research

In 2006 I completed my undergraduate degree at The University of Notre Dame Australia and one of my last subjects was a study of colonial archaeology in Fremantle. Shortly after completing this study, I was invited by lecturer Dr Shane Burke to assist him and Fr Robert Cross, priest of the Perth Archdiocese and archaeologist, in the exhumation of Bishops Martin Griver's and Mathew Gibney's remains from Perth's St Mary's Cathedral. The removal of the bishops from the 1886 crypt was part of the preparation for the restoration of the Cathedral. The restoration included the construction of a new crypt which would be built, with provision to hold the remains of all Bishops of Perth.

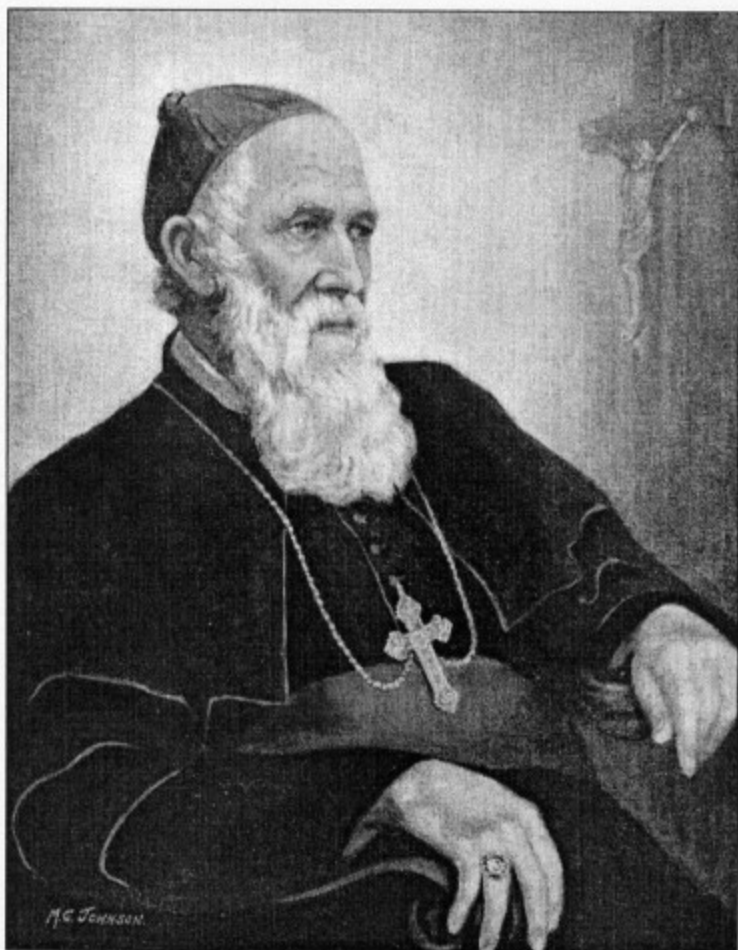


Figure 2. Bishop Martin Griver.
(Courtesy: Archdiocesan Roman Catholic Archives Perth)

During the two week exhumation, I spent many hours suspended on a foot-wide plank over Martin Griver's coffin within the narrow brick-lined crypt, together with the other archaeology students from The University of Western Australia. Throughout the exhumation time I began to research the life of the long-gone holy man and was engrossed by his story. I was enthralled by his early missionary career, particularly the long journeys he made, some over 1000 miles through the outback, on pastoral visits to Catholics in isolated outer settlements of the Colony of Western Australia.² He was administrator of the diocese for eight years before being promoted to bishop, during which time he made significant changes including building the

original 1865 St Mary's Cathedral in Victoria Square. Like Salvado, Griver was persistent; he continued his pastoral duties even after falling down three flights of stairs at the Bishop's Palace, and experiencing a stroke during the fall, which resulted in the paralysis of his right arm for an extended period.³ By the end of the exhumation I wanted to find out more about the life of this Spanish bishop who had remained obscure within the history of the Church and the colony which he served. When I learnt that the Catholic Archdiocese of Perth was offering a scholarship for research into Griver's life, I lodged my application which was ultimately successful. When I received this news I commenced intensive research immediately. One of the first places that I began my investigation was in the New Norcia Benedictine Community Archives. Most of the material at the archives relating to Griver was within the *Salvado Correspondence* – a collection of letters containing inwards correspondence to Rosendo Salvado. Griver was one of the main contributors to this collection. At first sight, both the amount and the time span of the material available were overwhelming. Little of this initial research undertaken was spent assessing the relationship between Griver and Salvado as it seemed completely tame when compared with Brady and Serra.

Brady was Perth's founding Bishop and Serra was the co-founder of New Norcia. The tumultuous dispute between the two bishops which gave Perth a scandalous reputation in Rome has attracted detailed scholarly accounts of the event.⁴ From December 1849 through to October 1852 Brady and Serra fought bitterly for control of New Norcia monastery and the Perth Diocese.⁵ The dispute originated during August 1849 with the decision of The Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*,⁶ Rome department for missionary affairs, to promote Serra to assistant bishop to the Perth Diocese with full control over all the finances. Brady had accumulated a debt of £10,000 which he could not service.⁷ Serra's promotion, however, had occurred despite Brady's explicit desire to have Salvado as his assistant bishop. The result was high drama, court cases, pleas to the Pope, struggles at the cathedral altar and an attack on the Bishop's Palace in Perth. Having created turmoil, Brady in 1852 and Serra in 1859 left the colony.

As the two remaining members of the Catholic hierarchy, from 1859, the then Bishop Salvado, Superior of New Norcia, and Fr Griver, Apostolic Administrator of Perth, had a different relationship. Their relationship was a collegial one that through the years developed into friendship. While still complex—and at times tenuous—the manner in which the two leaders related to each was vastly different from that of Brady and Serra. There was not the same power struggle between Griver and Salvado. Unlike Brady and Serra they were not competing for control of the diocese. Salvado perceived

his role purely as the leader of New Norcia and Griver as the Administrator of Perth. They fundamentally disagreed with each other on certain issues, such as the closure of Subiaco monastery in 1867, and yet they were able to remain united through common interests—such as the welfare of Aborigines, convicts and the European settlers.

Current historical opinion of Griver and Salvado

During my preliminary research at New Norcia, my understanding of the relationship between Salvado and Griver was guided by the interpretations of other historians. Brian De Garis's chapter 'Political Tutelage' in *A New History of Western Australia* explains how stability was brought to the Catholic Church of Western Australia in 1862 when Griver was officially appointed to administer the diocese and Salvado was left to manage New Norcia in peace.⁸ De Garis's evaluation of Salvado and Griver provides a valuable insight into the broader implications of their relationship. The biographies of Salvado and Griver, George Russo's *Lord Abbot of the Wilderness* and Archbishop Lancelot Goody's *Martin Griver, the Second Catholic Bishop of Perth (1814-1886)*, similarly support De Garis's analysis that Serra's resignation and the promotions of Griver and Salvado to leadership positions were the beginning of stability within the colonial Catholic Church.⁹ D.F. Bourke's *History of the Catholic Church in Western Australia* varies slightly in that he suggests that the Benedictines were allowed the freedom to progress their work with the Aborigines from 1859, while Griver managed the diocese.¹⁰ These historians rightly point to the promotions of Salvado and Griver as the stabilising change needed within the diocese. There is, however, more to the story. From 1859 there was no longer the same anarchy that existed during the schisms between Brady and Serra and then Serra and the Mercy Sisters, but stability was a gradual process. Salvado and Griver had many disputes some of which they reported to *Propaganda Fide*. Their disputes were even allowed to continue over extended periods of time. In contrast to Brady and Serra, however, they did not let these disputes stop them from assisting or consulting each other in their missionary work – which above all else, was a priority to both. It was this ability to work together despite differences of opinion that rendered their relationship sustainable, allowing the Benedictine Order and the Perth Diocese to co-exist. This allowed New Norcia to cater mainly for the Aborigines and the Perth Diocese predominantly for the European settlers.

While Griver and Salvado led the Catholic Church of Western Australia from 1859 to 1886, I have focussed on the period from 1859 through to 1870, as this was the most critical period for the two leaders in solidifying their leadership positions. The decree, which announced

Salvado's elevation to Superior of New Norcia, arrived in Perth during July 1859.¹¹ Until that point Serra, as the administrating bishop of Perth, had been in charge of the Benedictine Order as well as the rest of the diocese. The decree from Pope Pius IX gave Salvado complete local authority over the Benedictine Order and New Norcia. This came as a crippling blow to Serra who had just built a monastery at Subiaco, to which he had transferred a large number of Benedictines originally recruited for New Norcia. After receiving a copy of the decree Serra immediately prepared to travel to Rome and contest the decision. If Salvado had control of the Benedictines, then he could develop the Order and New Norcia in whatever manner he wished. The rivalry between Serra and Salvado had long been escalating and Serra was aware that Salvado wanted to develop New Norcia and not Subiaco.

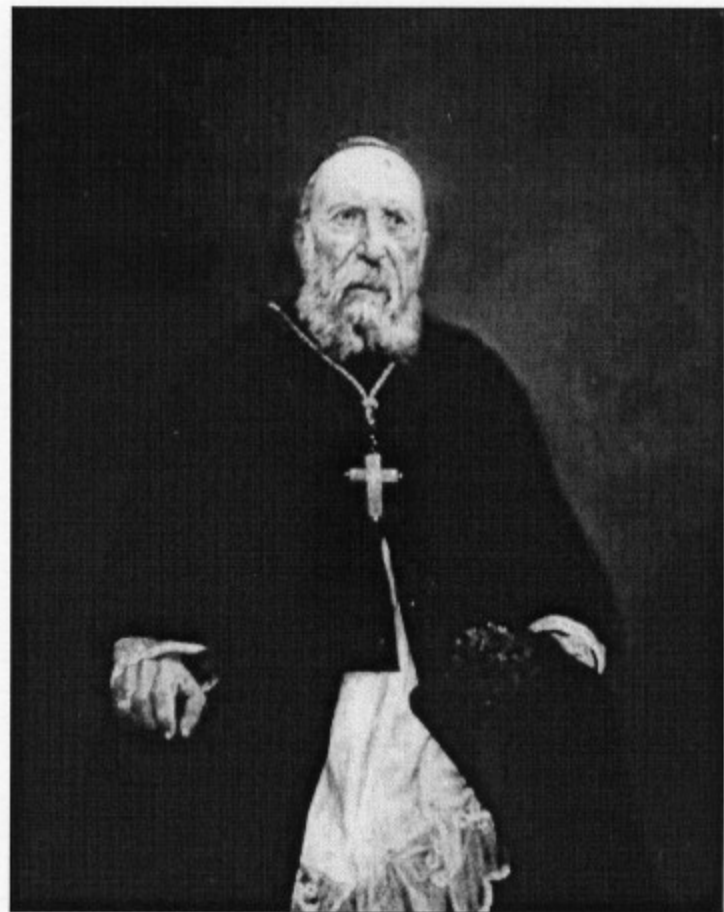


Figure 1. Bishop Rosendo Salvado.
(Courtesy of New Norcia Museum)

Serra's plans

In order to develop an urban chain of Benedictine monasteries, Serra had invested a large portion of Diocesan funds to build accommodation for monks.¹² The lavish Bishop's Palace, at a cost of £15,000, the three storey presbytery in Fremantle,¹³ and the three storey monastery in Subiaco all provided ample accommodation for a large cohort of monks living in the urban centre of the colony.¹⁴ Serra hoped that Subiaco would act as the provincial house for the chain of urban monasteries and together they would help supply the diocese with priests. Serra's building

program, however, had come at a cost to New Norcia. Serra had transferred the majority of skilled monks from New Norcia to Perth, Fremantle and Subiaco in order to construct these buildings.¹⁵ The Benedictine priests had been transferred either to Perth, Fremantle or the outer districts. This left few Benedictines in New Norcia to work with the Aborigines.

Salvado and New Norcia

While Serra had begun transferring the Benedictines to Subiaco for his building program Salvado had been in Europe. When Salvado returned in August 1853, he was concerned by what he saw and began corresponding with *Propaganda Fide*. He informed the department that Serra's attempt to establish urban monasticism was interfering with New Norcia's missionary work with the Aborigines.¹⁶ The neglect of New Norcia was further compounded by Serra's decision to go to Europe between October 1853 and April 1855 during which time he forced Salvado to remain in Perth and look after the administration of the diocese.¹⁷ It became acutely obvious to Salvado, while acting in this role, that Serra had turned New Norcia into a farm that was supporting the needs of the Perth Diocese. It was not being utilised as a mission for the Aborigines.

Serra and Griver

The evangelisation of the Aborigines had been central to the foundation of the Catholic Church in Western Australia. It was not an area of the Church's missionary work that *Propaganda Fide* wished to see ignored, even temporarily. In July 1859, a decree arrived from *Propaganda Fide* which temporarily rectified Salvado's concerns for New Norcia. The decree separated the Benedictine Order from the diocese and made Salvado the Superior of New Norcia independent of the Perth Diocese and its Bishop. Infuriated, Serra made Griver his deputy, promoting him to the office of Vicar General, and left for Rome. This gave Griver full administrative authority over Perth Diocese in the absence of the bishop.¹⁸ Serra had also given Griver power-of-attorney with instructions to transfer the ownership of the New Norcia monastery to Salvado if that was what he desired.¹⁹ These instructions were just a facade of cooperation by Serra.

Once in Rome, Serra was determined not to lose control of the Benedictine Order or New Norcia. Initially, reversing the decree seemed possible when he received a welcoming reception from Pius IX. Encouraged by this, he wrote to Griver through 1860 and 1861, continually suggesting his return might not be far away.

Have patience, My Dear Father Martin, perhaps the day now is very near, in which everything will be arranged in a satisfactory manner, and then I will take with me a lot of good priests.²⁰

Salvado, still in New Norcia, was convinced that this would not occur and wanted to begin implementing the terms of the decree. This left Griver in a predicament.

Griver's Assistance

Until this point Salvado and Griver's relationship had been a collegial one. Salvado had played an important role in Griver's life. When Serra and Salvado had met in Spain while both in Europe during 1849, they had agreed on recruiting Griver for Western Australia. While Griver never fulfilled his initial promise to become a Benedictine, from the time of his arrival in the colony he was eager to help the Order and its work at New Norcia. When Salvado had needed help with sick monks or Aborigines at New Norcia or elsewhere during the 1850s he requested Griver's assistance. Griver was also a trained surgeon. Griver readily complied with Salvado's requests, "I wish that Our Lord give you health and strength to work for His Glory and the good of the Religion and I offer my services again on this occasion".²¹ Despite the demands of his duties in Perth, Griver was content to remain with patients as long as Salvado required. On one occasion, Salvado requested that Griver extend his already long stay to continue caring for a sick Benedictine priest. Content in his work and in assisting the Benedictines Griver replied that he would stay as long as he was useful.²² As doctors were not easily accessible in the colony, particularly in remote locations such as New Norcia, Griver continued to make these visits during his time as Vicar General.²³ This assistance was essential to New Norcia, as it was not always possible to send the monks to Perth or get a doctor to New Norcia. It was Griver's desire to help both the European settlers and the Aborigines, through his pastoral duties and medicine. Griver also helped Salvado to make his own medicines for the monks and aborigines as manufactured medicines were not always immediately available.²⁴ When unable to visit New Norcia, Griver would give instructions with regard to the making and application of remedies.

I am glad to hear that Fr Martinez is feeling better. In relation to the throat irritation, it can be treated with gargles, and sometimes with emollients such as the water of mallow...and when the irritation is raw and recent sometimes with gargles or preventatives such as water and vinegar with a little borax.²⁵

While offering pastoral advice Griver was careful to add that the medicines were useless without "God's help".²⁶ As Vicar General, Griver continued to give Salvado assistance with the medical needs of the Benedictines, although not quite as often as when he had been a simple missionary priest. The 1859 decree had given both Griver and Salvado new administrative roles. While Salvado had been a bishop for several

years, he had not had full administrative control of the New Norcia monastery. Now he did and in the process of defining this role he and Griver soon found themselves in unfamiliar territory. They were both in equally powerful administrative positions.

Cooperation and Redefinition of roles

Necessity dictated that they were in constant correspondence. They both requested advice and confided in each other. Salvado, aware of the experience that Griver had gained from assisting Serra, wrote regularly with questions of Mass procedures and prayers used in the diocese.²⁷ Respecting Salvado's advice, Griver would similarly ask questions about decisions pertaining to priests and missionaries. Initially the two leaders managed to negotiate their way through difficult tasks. The 1859 decree allowed the monks at Subiaco to decide whether to remain there or move to New Norcia. A meeting was scheduled at which Griver and Salvado jointly presided – the result was forty-seven monks chose New Norcia.²⁸ Uncomfortable with the decision, Griver allowed the transferral of monks to occur without causing further animosity between the diocese and the monastery. As the separation of the Benedictines from the diocese continued to take place Salvado and Griver were continuing to define their new roles.

Conflict

Following the decision of the forty-seven monks to leave Subiaco, Fr Leandro Tomás began petitioning Salvado to take the two remaining novices to New Norcia.²⁹ This caused Griver and Salvado to collide. The novices themselves did not correspond with Salvado and there is no record as to whether they wished to enter New Norcia. In line with what he believed to be their wishes, Salvado decided that he would transfer the novices to New Norcia. When Griver heard of the decision he informed Fr Ildelphonse Bertrán, the priest in charge at the Subiaco monastery, that he was not to allow Salvado to enter Subiaco without Griver being present. Unwilling to take the novices from Subiaco without consulting Griver, Salvado first travelled to Perth. According to Griver, Salvado had no right to take the novices as they were admitted into their noviciate at Subiaco and should remain there until it was complete. Convinced that the decree superseded what Griver had indicated, Salvado decided to proceed with collecting the novices. This decision infuriated Griver, and caused him to erupt stating that Salvado had no jurisdiction in the diocese.³⁰ Further, Griver warned that if they left that they would do so without their habits.

Few Missionaries and a Growing Church

The large number of Benedictines that were leaving the diocese for New Norcia was causing Griver concern, particularly as he had a large diocese to

provide spiritual services to and few clergy to serve the diocese outside of the Benedictine Order. Fr Bernardo Martinez also decided to enter New Norcia; Griver passionately believed that it was not within the rights of all the Benedictines to enter New Norcia, as some had been recruited specifically for the service of the diocese. He wrote to Martinez reminding him that he had been recruited as a missionary of the Perth Diocese. "I beg you to consider that you were admitted by the latter [Bishop Serra] to the Sacred Order of Priesthood under the title of Missionary of the Diocese of Perth".³¹ Despite Griver's pleas Martinez entered New Norcia. Griver was annoyed, particularly because he believed, as in the case of the novices, that Salvado had allowed someone to enter the monastery in breach of the appropriate protocol. Powerless to stop Martinez leaving the diocese, Griver wrote to Salvado requesting that in New Norcia he should look after the spiritual needs of both the Aborigines and the European settlers of New Norcia.³² He then wrote to Martinez and granted him the spiritual faculties to look after the European Catholics in the area. Finding enough priests to provide pastoral care for the diocese was becoming an increasing strain on Griver.

With the introduction of convict transportation to the colony, the first ship arriving in June 1850,³³ and the transportation of women from Ireland and England, the colony had undergone significant growth.³⁴ From 1848 to 1859 the Catholic population had risen from 337 to 3,354.³⁵ The increase not only meant that existing Catholic communities in the outer districts had grown, but that new settlements were being established that needed to be regularly visited by a priest. Griver, having made pastoral visits to these areas, was aware of the dangers that befell Catholics without access to a priest. For example, during his visit to Bunbury during June 1855 he found the local Catholics in mourning after the death of a local servant girl Catherine Dailey. The young woman had been severely assaulted by a local ticket-of-leave man. She had spent two days crying for a priest and had died in the arms of a local Catholic who had prayed with her. Included in his report of the pastoral visitation, Griver suggested to the bishop that the Catholic people of Bunbury needed a resident priest.³⁶ For the rest of his life, Griver was burdened with the fear that the Catholics would not receive the necessary sacraments and spiritual guidance from priests when they needed them.

Having briefly been an administrator of the diocese, Salvado realised the difficulties that Griver faced and he was aware that the separation of the Benedictine Order had compounded that burden. In an attempt to aid Griver, Salvado made provision to a number of Benedictine priests to remain working in the parishes of the diocese. The number of priest ranged generally up to four. Nonetheless these priests were on loan and

could be recalled at any time—a clause that continued to worry Griver.³⁷ The assistance that Salvado gave Griver in loaning priests was essential to the survival of the diocese as without these priests Griver would not have been able to provide Mass services to the faithful. Additionally the diocese would have lost the government wages allocated for providing the churches with priests.

Itinerant Priests

Even with the assistance of the Benedictine priests that were allocated to the diocese by Salvado, Griver struggled to find enough priests for Sunday Masses at the Catholic Churches throughout the colony. Griver had to employ itinerant priests to try and supplement the shortage – something which many Australian Bishops and Diocesan Administrators refused to do. It was not long before Griver discovered the reason for this and wrote to Salvado for advice.

He speaks well but without method or solidity... He expects to be treated as a gentleman, eating meat three times a day...He has filled his room with pictures and Chinese idols. I have remained silent. Some days he has gone hunting with his splendid double-barrelled shotgun. I still have remained silent, but I think that it would be better if he was hunting for souls for Our Lord. He plays his violin, but only from nine to ten in the evenings. I have not commented. There is stinking tobacco odour all around. I am still silent. He also has a monkey in his room and while he has taken it only to the kitchen I have said nothing. Then he put it in the balcony, over the school, causing a distraction for the boys. I ordered Br Jose to retrieve it from the balcony, but he went out again. I told him I did not like it to be exposed for the entertainment of the population.³⁸

Fr Francis Kum—a Belgian missionary who had come from California—was Griver's first encounter with a disaffected itinerant priest. Kum's employment evolved into an exercise in patience for Griver. Kum lasted less than a year in the Mission. Life at the Palace centred on the demanding needs of the diocese. Griver lived in austerity and expected his priests to live without extravagances,³⁹ particularly in the lead-up to building a new cathedral in Victoria Square. Salvado's suggestion, as was so often the case, was patience. The volume of correspondence between Griver and Salvado on these issues shows that they both provided leadership and spiritual support for each other.

Administrator of the Diocese

In February 1862 it became clear that Griver and Salvado would continue to work together in the short term, but beyond that Griver's future was uncertain. Serra resigned from the Diocese of Perth in January

1862 as he was unable to convince *Propaganda Fide* to reverse the 1859 decree. Griver was provisionally promoted to administrator of the diocese.⁴⁰ *Propaganda Fide* made it clear to Griver that they wanted 'stable order'. *Propaganda Fide* wanted cooperation between the Perth Diocese and the Benedictine Order. It did not want the disputes between diocesan authorities and New Norcia, started under Brady and continued under Serra, to be an enduring characteristic of the Western Australian Catholic leadership. Griver knew that he and Salvado had to accommodate each other.⁴¹ Despite the disagreements that had developed between Griver and Salvado during his time as Vicar General, Griver was eager to remain on good terms with the Benedictine Order. One of the first changes that he made as administrator was to lift the communication ban between the current missionaries and those whom Serra had exiled to Ceylon, most of whom were Benedictines.⁴²

There were several other changes and projects that Griver began. A new cathedral for Perth was a high priority; the Perth congregation had long since exceeded the capacity of the small cathedral built by Bishop Brady in 1846. Wishing to have a bishop lay the foundation stone of the cathedral, Griver invited Salvado to officiate at the ceremony in February 1863.⁴³ The Benedictines continued to play a central role in the construction of the building. Bertrán, as the Superior of Subiaco, agreed to Br Joseph Ascione being elected chief architect and builder. New Norcia and Subiaco had many other monks who were skilled carpenters and masons and Griver called on them periodically through the building process. He had limited funds with which to build the cathedral. The initial sum, granted for the building by the French missionary society *Propagation de la Foi*, had given by Serra to the provincial house of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Apparition when they were in financial trouble.⁴⁴

Salvado's Leadership Struggle

Salvado, who returned to Rome in 1864 to resolve a dispute over the leadership of New Norcia, helped Griver minimise the cost of the interior decoration of the cathedral by investigating places in Rome where he could purchase the statues and altar decorations within his small budget.⁴⁵ While in Rome, Salvado also achieved many other things that were of benefit to both the diocese and the Benedictine Order. In order to provide some of the novices with a solid monastic foundation on which to base their missionary work, Salvado had affiliated New Norcia with the Cassinese Congregation in Italy, a congregation formed by Abbott Pietro Casaretto. In forming the new congregation Casaretto hoped to create monasteries in which the Rule of St Benedict was more strictly observed. During 1864 Casaretto consulted *Propaganda Fide* about bringing

all of the missionary Benedictine monasteries under the central control of his monastery, acting as a provincial house in Italy.⁴⁶ Salvado having successfully already fought one battle for the leadership of his monastery and the Benedictine Order, hoped to do the same again during 1864.

Salvado spent three years in Rome consulting with the officials of *Propaganda Fide*, in particular with the Prefect of the department Cardinal Alessandro Barnabò, over the leadership of the Benedictines. Salvado felt that being controlled by a provincial house in Italy would not be to the monastery's advantage. Casaretto's strict monastic rules were not practical for a missionary monastery such as New Norcia. There were several solutions put forward, including a suggestion that Salvado could become the next bishop of Perth and relieve Griver of his temporary administration. Salvado, content with his life at New Norcia and work with the Aborigines, refused to accept the post; he was aware of its demands and feared that he would have little time for his other work. Instead, he endorsed Griver's candidacy as a permanent administrator, outlining his achievements. He listed the new churches and schools that Griver had built as proof of his success in the role. *Propaganda Fide* took Salvado's advice and promoted Griver on September 18, 1865.⁴⁷ While Griver was appreciative of Salvado's recommendation, the two were soon in disagreement again—this time over some of the other changes that Salvado suggested to Barnabò.

During January 1867 New Norcia was granted complete independence from the Perth Diocese—even the parish of New Norcia which had remained within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Perth Diocese was now Salvado's responsibility. New Norcia was now an *Abbey Nullius* (belonging to no diocese), a monastery with its own ecclesiastical territory and Bishop—Salvado. The new Diocese consisted of a small area of a 16 mile radius surrounding the monastery.⁴⁸ Griver did not object to New Norcia's independence; however, the new decree also meant the closure of Subiaco and the removal of the remaining Benedictine priests from the diocese. Griver did object to this. The Subiaco monastery had been established by Serra through the use of diocesan funds and many, although not all, of the fixtures in the monastery, Griver believed, were purchased by Serra.⁴⁹ Among the conditions of Subiaco's closure was the removal of all the monastery's assets.

Closure of Subiaco

Under Fr Venancio Garrido's (Salvado's elected Prior at New Norcia) supervision, the removal of Subiaco chattels began. Griver was in disbelief and assumed that the decree must have been misinterpreted. He refused to let certain items leave the monastery and Salvado graciously let certain items, to which Griver

had personal attachment, remain.⁵⁰ Griver, however, wanted the majority of items to remain. While Salvado and Griver had already disputed many issues regarding the initial separation of New Norcia, they had both been able to accommodate a compromise. This issue, however, was referred to Barnabò. Griver refused to allow beds and other items to leave until he received a document from the Cardinal explicitly outlining the items which were to be transferred to New Norcia.⁵¹ Little did Griver know that this argument would work against him, when *Propaganda Fide* deliberated about whether or not to promote him to bishop. *Propaganda Fide* were, however, content that Griver was willing to concede their ruling about the property of Subiaco. It was a relief for *Propaganda Fide*, considering the difficulty the past administrators of Perth, Brady and Serra, had caused by resisting the transferring of Church property in accordance with the directives.

A new Bishop for Perth

The future direction of the Benedictine Order in Western Australia was now firmly under Salvado's control. This allowed *Propaganda Fide* to focus through 1868 on the appointment of a new bishop for Perth. Despite Griver's achievements, the job was first offered to Fr James Murray, secretary of the Cardinal Archbishop of Ireland, Paul Cullen. Due to Cullen's previous position as Rector of the Irish College, he was influential in Rome. Through his links with *Propaganda Fide* and other departments of the Holy See, Cullen had managed to secure Australian bishoprics for several other friends and family members.⁵² Brisbane, Maitland, Bathurst, Hobart and Adelaide all had bishops who had been proposed by Cullen. His nephew, Patrick Francis Moran, later became Australia's first Cardinal.⁵³ Murray had investigated the hierarchy of the Western Australian Catholic Church and decided to refuse the position. He made no attempt to conceal his reasons citing the Spanish influence as too great.⁵⁴

Griver's chances of becoming the next bishop of Perth appeared even more remote when Barnabò received the list of recommendations from Australian bishops in the eastern colonies. Archbishop John Bede Polding, as the highest ranking bishop, convened the meeting in which the possible candidates for the Bishopric of Perth were discussed. Polding was over-ruled by the majority of other bishops who wished to list all Irish candidates. Barnabò decided to write to both Salvado and Polding, to investigate further why Griver had been left off the list and who they thought was the best candidate. He wanted these points clarified before he presented all the information about the candidates for Perth to the College of Cardinals who in turn would make a recommendation to Pope Pius IX. Polding's reply indicated that he approved of Griver, but had been singular in that opinion at the meeting in which the other bishops decided on the

nominations for Perth. Salvado strongly recommended Griver. Salvado believed Griver had done well in the position of administrator and he had interfered with Salvado far less than had Brady and Serra. Both Brady and Serra had severely impinged on Salvado's ability to expand and develop New Norcia during their leadership. Brady had sent Salvado to Europe to help rectify his difficulties with Serra.

Serra in turn then tried to use New Norcia as a farm. While Salvado had argued with Griver over the separation of the Benedictine Order, they had been able to accommodate each other with compromise. Salvado appeared reluctant to accept a new and unfamiliar administrator in Perth. There were two pieces of information which Barnabò used to conclude his report to the other Cardinals. First, that Griver had done a very good job in promoting stability as administrator. The second was that Salvado, despite the arguments between himself and Griver, still recommended Griver for the job. On this advice the Cardinals recommended Griver to Pope Pius IX. Subsequently, Pius IX appointed Griver Bishop Apostolic Administrator of Perth on September 19, 1869.⁵⁵ This gave Griver all the power to act as the Bishop of the Diocese of Perth, but not the official title 'Bishop of Perth'. Brady would retain that title, despite the urges of the Holy See to relinquish it, until he died on December 3, 1870. It was then conferred to Griver in July 1873.⁵⁶

To Rome

Salvado, who was in Spain trying to establish a missionary college, received a letter from Griver recounting his surprise at the discovery of his appointment. On his return from Fremantle, Griver sighted his assistant, Fr Matthew Gibney hurriedly riding towards him. When Gibney approached he addressed Griver as 'the Lord Bishop of Perth'.⁵⁷ At first Griver thought it was a joke but soon realised that, after ten years as an administrator, he was now the bishop. After seeking the approval of the clergy, Griver made preparations to leave for Rome. The First Vatican Council had been called and Griver hoped that after being consecrated he could take part in the proceedings. Although he was worried about the expense of a consecration on the diocese, he asked Salvado to source the necessary attire he needed, at the least cost. Salvado waited with anticipation to meet Griver in Rome. On May 17, 1870 Salvado wrote a long letter to Garrido, stopping at several intervals for other duties, and commenting that he was in anticipation waiting for Griver.⁵⁸ At 2pm that afternoon Salvado returned to San Callisto Monastery where he was staying and found Griver waiting for him. The two embraced upon meeting. The leadership of the Catholic Church in Western Australia was sealed for decades to come.

Griver and Salvado

The renowned Australian historian Manning Clarke, commented in his book *A Short History of Australia* that the Spanish Benedictines at New Norcia brought a unique quality to Western Australian Catholicism.⁵⁹ This is certainly true, but not just as Clarke suggests through its importation of the European ideals of Christianity, but through the leaders that it produced. Griver and Salvado brought stability to the Western Australian Catholic Church that it lacked during its infancy. This stability allowed both New Norcia and Perth to become established within the Colony of Western Australia, providing better infrastructure for the Church and allowing it to expand into new regions. Central to the stability of their leadership was the amiable relationship they fostered between the Perth Diocese and the New Norcia monastery. In 1862, after Serra's resignation, *Propaganda Fide* made it clear that cooperation between the two organisations was paramount. Cognizant of this, Griver and Salvado did work together, though at times they fought bitterly about the needs of the monastery versus the needs of the diocese. The Diocese relied on the Benedictine priests in its parishes, and the Benedictines relied on the cooperation of the Perth Diocese to allow them to fulfil their mission to the Aborigines without disturbance. The friendship and leadership of Salvado and Griver was central to the survival of the Catholic Church in Western Australia during the Colonial period. Continued cooperation between the two was rendered possible through compromise and an enduring friendship. The idea that even in conflict they wished for the prayers of the other does not convey the theatrical nature which is embedded in the conflict of other colonial Church figures. However, it is inspiring, in that their conscious decision to remain friends and work together as leaders produced a legacy enjoyed by many to the present day.

Abbreviations:

Propaganda Fide

The Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide.

Propagation of the Faith

The Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

BCANN

Benedictine Archives of New Norcia.

ARCAP

Archdiocesan Roman Catholic Archives of Perth.

NLA

National Library of Australia.

APF

Archives of Propaganda Fide.

LBD

Lettre e Decreti della Sacra Congregazione e Biglietti del Monsignor Segretario. (Letters to the Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide).

End Notes:

- 1 I would like to express my sincere appreciation to Michael Crouch, Jade Doering, Fr Christopher Dowd, Cheryl Greaves, Vivien Lengkeek & Geraldine O'Brien for their contribution.
- 2 L.J. Goody, *Martin Griver: Second Catholic Bishop of Perth* (1814-1886), Vanguard Service Print, 1986.
- 3 *The Western Australian Catholic Record*, September 10, 1885, p.7.
- 4 K. Garrad, 'New Norcia and the Great Schism of Perth', in *Journal of Religious History*, vol.8(1), 1974. & C. Dowd, 'Ecclesiastical Civil War in the Swan River, 1843-1853', in *Rome in Australia: Papacy and Conflict in the Australian Catholic Missions, 1834-1884*, Brill, Boston: Leiden, 2008. Both of these works give a detailed scholarly account of the schism between the two bishops, many other histories make mention of the event, but with less detail.
- 5 D.F. Bourke, *The History of the Catholic Church in Western Australia, 1829-1879*, Vanguard Service Print, Perth, 1979, pp.37-47.
- 6 Referred to here on in as Propaganda Fide.
- 7 Dowd, Op. Cit. p.131.
- 8 B.K. De Garis, 'Political tutelage 1829-1890', in C.T. Stannage (ed.), *A New History of Western Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, 1987, p.313.
- 9 G. Russo, *Lord Abbot of the Wilderness: The Life and Times of Bishop Salvado*, Polding Press, Melbourne, 1980, pp.83-89. In *Lord Abbot of the Wilderness* Russo's chapter 'Right Man, Right Place', which covers the period 1857-1864 looks at the difficulties that Salvado had with Rome, there is little mention of the difficulty between Griver and Salvado. Goody, Op. Cit. pp.36 & 37. Goody also discusses Griver's promotion to Vicar General in 1859, but focuses on the responsibilities which Griver had to attend to rather than the relationship that formed between Salvado and Griver.
- 10 Bourke, Op. Cit. p.109. Bourke comments that by 1859 the Benedictine Monks were gathered in New Norcia with the sole purpose of evangelising the Aborigines. This process, as will be discussed, was much more gradual.
- 11 R. Keightley (translator, 2001), *Salvado Correspondence, BCANN, 1859-1860 Summaries*, Summary 63, Salvado to Salvado July 12, 1858 (Spanish).
- 12 Bourke, Op. Cit. p.32. & Dowd, *Rome in Australia*, vol.1, pp.32-38.
- 13 G. Byrne, *A Basilica In The Making, The Centenary of St Patrick's Fremantle*, Mazanod Press, Fremantle, Western Australia, 2000, p.14.; Lynch to Conroy, July 15, 1870, ARCAP, box 670, file 11. & Little to Polding, July 11, 1856, ARCAP, box 670, file 11.
- 14 Bourke, Op. Cit. p.59 & Byrne, *Basilica in the Making*, p.14.
- 15 J. Waldersee, *A Grain of Mustard Seed*, Chevalier, Sydney, 1983, p.181.
- 16 Russo, Op. Cit. p. 70.
- 17 Ibid, p.78.
- 18 R. Keightley, Op. Cit. Salvado to Salvado July 12, 1858 (Spanish).
- 19 R. Retamal, (translator, 2009), Griver to Salvado, January 5, 1859 (Spanish). & R. Retamal (translator, 2008), Griver to Salvado, July 12, 1859 (Spanish). Rosario Retamal, a qualified translator and interpreter, has completed these translations for my thesis and copies of her translations will be submitted to New Norcia Benedictine Community Archives after my thesis has been completed. The originals in Spanish are currently available in these archives.
- 20 Serra to Griver, January 28, 1861, ARCAP, box 5, file 4.
- 21 R. Retamal, (translator, 2009), Griver to Salvado, July 14, 1854 (Spanish).
- 22 R. Retamal (translator, 2009), Griver to Salvado, July 17, 1854 (Spanish).
- 23 R. Retamal (translator, 2009), Garrido to Salvado, February, 22, 1861 (Spanish).
- 24 J. Owen, *Homoeopathy and New Norcia*, New Norcia Studies, no.12, September 2004, p.6.
- 25 R. Retamal (translator, 2008), Griver to Salvado, January 5, 1859 (Spanish).
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Fr D. Barry, (translator, 2008), Griver to Salvado, May 2, 1859 (Spanish). Fr David Barry, of New Norcia, has provided Spanish translations of letters from the Benedictine Community Archives for my thesis. Fr Barry is an authority with the material at New Norcia through his own research into the historical figures of the monastery and his translations will also be available in these archives after the completion of my thesis.
- 28 Eraso Mutilva, 'Relinquishing The Bishopric of Perth', in M.H. Braga Da Silva, M.C. Eraso Multiva, C. Rodriguez Rhonda & A.M. Barandierian Dorronsoro (eds.), *Jose Maria Benito Serra, estudios sobre su vida*, vol.3, Instituto Politecnico Salesianos-Atocha (Spanish), Madrid, 2005, p.339.

- 29 R. Keightley (translator, 2004), Salvado Correspondence, BCANN, 1859-1860 Summaries, Summary 64, Tomás to Salvado July 12, 1859 (Spanish).
- 30 Eraso Mutilva, Op. Cit. p.340.
- 31 Griver to Martinez, July 30, 1859, NLA, Scrittura originali referite nei Oceania, 1816-1878, vol.7, folio 702. This material was collected from the National Library of Australia courtesy of a grant received by the author from the Western Australian History Foundation.
- 32 R. Keightley (translator, 2001), Salvado Correspondence, BCANN, 1859-1860 Summaries, Summary 77, Griver to Martinez, August 13, 1859 (English).
- 33 J.S. Battye, *Western Australia A History from its Discovery to the Inauguration of the Commonwealth*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924.
- 34 C.T. Stannage, *The People of Perth, A Social History of Western Australia's Capital*, Perth City Council, Perth, 1979, p.93.
- 35 Bourke, Op. Cit. frontispiece.
- 36 M. Griver, Clerical visit to Bunbury District, ARCAP, box 5, file 10, p.1.
- 37 R. Keightley (translator, 2004), Salvado Correspondence, BCANN, 1862 Summaries, Summary 203, Martelli to Salvado, December 18, 1862 (Italian).
- 38 R. Retamal (translator, 2009), Griver to Salvado, September 17, 1862 (Spanish).
- 39 Goody, Op. Cit. p.38-39.
- 40 Propaganda to Griver, February 6, 1862, APF, LBD, 1862, vol.353, folio 62. These letters were transcribed by Fr Christopher Dowd, Historian with expertise in the Catholic Church of Australia during the Colonial period. Author of *Rome in Australia*.
- 41 Propaganda Fide to Griver, April 23, 1862, APF, LBD, 1862, vol. 353, folio. 206.
- 42 R. Keightley, (translator, 2004), Salvado Correspondence, BCANN, 1862 Summaries, Summary 14, Bertrán to Griver, January 22, 1862 (Spanish).
- 43 Bourke, Op. Cit. p.72.
- 44 Waldersee, Op. Cit. p.182.
- 45 R. Retamal (translator, 2008), Griver to Salvado, September 23, 1864 (Spanish).
- 46 Russo, Op. Cit. pp. 90-93 & H.N. Birt, *Benedictine Pioneers in Australia*, vol.2, Herbert & Daniel, London, 1911, p.486.
- 47 Propaganda to Griver, September 24, 1865, APF, LDB, 1865, vol.356, folio 562-563.
- 48 R. Keightley, (translator, 2007), Salvado Correspondence, BCANN, 1867 Summaries, Summary 62, Cardinal P. Clarelli, to Salvado, March 12, 1867.
- 49 T. De Castro (translator, 2007), Salvado Correspondence, BCANN, 1868-1879 Summaries, Summary 31, Salvado to Garrido, January 20, 1868 (Spanish).
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Propaganda to Griver, September 18, 1867, APF, LBD, 1867, vol.358, folio 801.
- 52 D. Bowen, *Paul, Cardinal, Cullen and the shaping of modern Irish Catholicism*, Gill & Macmillan, Dublin, 1983, p.223.
- 53 P. Ayres, *Prince of the Church: Patrick Francis Moran, 1830-1911*, The Miegunyah Press, Melbourne, 2007.
- 54 Murray to Barnabò, July 2 & July 23, 1865, (525-527) in APF, Acta della Sarca Congregazione (Official records of the meetings of cardinals assigned to Propaganda Fide's general congregation who deliberate on any given issue, question, problem relating to missions.), vol.224, 1860, folio 490-492.
- 55 Papal Audience, September 19, 1869, ADF, vol.235, 1869, folio 669-685.
- 56 Bourke, Op. Cit. p.91.
- 57 R. Retamal (translator, 2010), Griver to Salvado, March 2, 1870 (Spanish), BCANN.
- 58 T. De Castro (translator, 2007), Salvado Correspondence, BCANN, 1870 Summaries, Summary 936, Salvado to Garrido, May 17, 1870 (Spanish).
- 59 M. Clark, *A Short History of Australia*, 4th edn, Penguin Books, Camberwell, Australia, 2006, p.133.